## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 /111 W

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4807

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN IMMEDIATE

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DEPT PLEASE PASS TO SEC VANCE IMMEDIATE

GEORGETOWN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, US, UN, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECOND DAY OF WESTERN FIVE TALKS WITH

SWAPO-MORNING SESSION

REF: USUN 2531

SUMMARY: DURING MORNING SESSION AUGUST 9, SWAPO MOVED AWAY FROM POSITION OF YESTERDAY THAT WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS COULD TAKE PLACE AT SAME TIME AS UN-SPONSORED POLITICAL CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCESS IN TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. RETURNING TO THEIR INITIAL PRESENTATION SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA SAID SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD HAVE TO BE TOTALLY WITHDRAWAN BEFORE SWAPO WOULD RISK TAKING ANY PART IN POLITICAL PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

1. NUJOMA OUTLINED FOLLOWING SCENARIO FOR UN TAKEOVER

## OF NAMIBIA:

- (A) MEETING OF SWAPO, SAG, UN AND/OR WESTERN FIVE REPRESENTATIVES TO WORK OUT TIMETABLE FOR TOTAL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL;
- (B) GENERAL CEASE-FIRE;
- (C) SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS DEPART OVER THREE MONTH PERIOD AND UN TROOPS TAKE THEIR PLACE;
- (D) UN TAKES FULL CONTROL OVER THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF NAMIBIA:
- (E) UN ORGANIZES FREE ELECTIONS TO CHOOSE NEW GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA.
- 2. SCENARIO IS LONG STEP BACK FROM APPARENT FLEXIBILITY
  DEMONSTRATED BY NUJOMA AUGUST 8, WHEN HE SEEMED TO HAVE
  ACCEPTED START OF POLITICAL PROCESS WHILE SOME SOUTH AFRICAN
  TROOPS WERE STILL ON NAMIBIAN SOIL. WHILE AGREEING THAT
  WITHDRAWAL MIGHT BE PHASED, NUJOMA REJECTED WESTERN FIVE
  ASSURANCES THAT ANY REMAINING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS COULD BE
  NEUTRALIZED SUFFICIENTLY TO PERMIT UNHINDERED CAMPAIGNING AND
  FREE ELECTIONS. INDEED, HE SAID SWAPO WOULD NOT RISK TAKING
  PART IN POLITICAL PROCESS UNLESS AND UNTIL A MAJOR UN
  MILITARY FORCE HAD REMOVED ANY POSSIBILITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN
  INTERFERENCE OR RETALIATION.
- 3. PARENTHETICALLY, NUJOMA CLAIMED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM CERTAIN UNNAMED NON-ALIGNED STATES THAT THEY WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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BE PREPARED CONTRIBUTE TROOPS FOR SUCH A PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

4. COMMENT: CONCEIVABLY, NUJOMA MAY HAVE GONE FURTHER ON AUGUST 8 THAN SOME MEMBERS OF HIS TEAM WERE PREPARED TO GO, AND PULLED BACK TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL HARMONY. AT ANY RATE, HIS QUICK FALLBACK TO DEMAND FOR VIRTUAL SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITULATION IN BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF TRANSITION IS A REMINDER OF DISTANCE STILL TO BE TRAVELLED IN BUILDING CONFIDENCE ON ALL SIDES. LEONARD

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SEC VANCE.

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Subject: NAMIBIA: SECOND DAY OF WESTERN FIVE TALKS WITH SWAPO-MORNING SESSION

TAGS: PORG, PDEV, US, SF, WA, CA, FR, GE, UK, UN, SWAPO

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